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Chapter I

The Habitat

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The area whose ethnographic elements are collected in these notes is the basin of the Uaupés or Caiari River (1).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

1. Caiari, or formerly Ucaiari, would be the original name, according to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, who, in No. 184 of his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/" (see below, II, 2 /see p. 25/), says: -- "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manaos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attribute to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé."

It is to be noted that, although its waters are not as dark as those of the Rio Negro, the Uaupés is one of a number of rivers of "black waters."

"All these tribes," reports Wallace ("Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro" -- London, 1849, p. 335), "present some peculiarities in their idioms and customs, but all of them come under the general name of Uaupés and distinguish themselves, as a whole, from the inhabitants of the other rivers. This is the reason that the river is called Rio dos Uaupés (the River of the Uaupés), although actually its name is Ucaiari and it is called this by the Indians."

We read recently (May of 1956) in Luiz da Câmara Cascudo ("Em memória de Stradelli /In memory of Stradelli/," Livr. Clássica-Manaus, 1936, p. 7) that Stradelli mentions a powerful Tuxáua /chief/ Buapé, of the Taryana /Tariana/ tribe (whose ninth-generation grandson, Maximiliano José Roberto, accompanied Stradelli on his journeys), who would have lived around the end of the sixteenth century and lent the name to

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/footnote 1 cont./ the river (cf. below, Note 5, Ch. II /see note 8, Ch. II, p. 40/).

This belief has also been adopted today on the Rio Negro. We do not know, however, if it is based on the opinion of Stradelli, or if he gave rise to it. At the end of the nineteenth century, with Stradelli, the name Uaupés is presented to us as a corruption of the original word Buapé. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Uaupé would be the original form from which, through corruption, the term Goaupé originated, and no mention is made of the Tuxáua by the name of Buapé, the memory of whom, if he existed, should have been more vivid at that time. Who is right? /The footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

Which language would the name Uaupés belong to? And what does it mean? The present-day natives do not know how to answer that, nor did those of half a century ago. As a matter of fact, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) says only that the name is depreciative; this, however, because under the name of Uaupés are included tribes that are ignorant, wild (Wildstaemme), and scorned, such as the Tukano /Tucano/ and the Kubewãna, who fought against the more advanced Arwake /Arawak/.

In Stradelli's Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, we find the remark: "Iasaná" -- Breed of the Afflicted /Port. Casta das Rallidas/. Name that on the lower Amazon and on the Grão-Pará is given to Parra Iaçaná, which on the Solimões is called Piasóca -- and on the Rio Negro, Uaupé and Uapé.

The river in turn lent the name to a plant characteristic of the stones of its cachoeiras /rapids; see note 2, p. 9 /. As a matter of fact, it is called uaupé or uaupé-da-cachoeira (and also carurú-das-pedras /carurú of the stones/ and murera-das-cachoeiras), an aquatic plant that grows on the stones of the cachoeiras of this river and that furthermore serves the Indians for the extraction of salt (cf. Note 51

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/footnote 1 cont./ /see note 52, p. 320/, VI). (Cf. Gastão Cruls, Hileia Amazônica -- C. E. N., 1944 -- p. 35.)

The name Ucaiari (as is usual for the ones that end in ri or li) is of Arwake origin. In the language of the Arara-tapuya and the Kadáu-puritãna, the Uaupés River is called Ukayalí; in the Huhúdeni /Huhuteni/ it is called Ukávari (all three are of the Arwake group). It might perhaps be derived from U(ni), water river, and Kawale (in Kadáu-puritãna) or Kawáeri (in Hihúdeni /sic/), wind. Nevertheless, none of the old people of the various Arwake tribes of the Içana and Aiarí rivers whom we could consult were able to indicate the meaning of the term Caiarí or Ucaiari. Just as the other tribes who inhabit the Uaupés did not know it either. All of them designate the Uaupés as "Dya Poxsá," river of the Makú (?). This designation might induce one to think that the Makú (Puxsá /sic/) were the first to inhabit its shores, and afterwards, under pressure from the Arwake and Tukano invaders, went to settle in the interior, in the adjacent forests, from the environs of S. Gabriel as far as the cachoeiras of Jandú and Carurú (on the Uaupés River). The truth is that, according to the spirit of the language, River of the Makú should be translated as "Poxsá Dyá" and not as "Dyá Poxsá."

as it was known up to a few years ago, a tributary that flows into the Rio Negro about 50 kilometers above the town of S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, now called Uaupés.

133 The Uaupés results, according to Dr. Hamilton Rice, from the union of the rivers Unilla, which is the more important, and Itilla, both with their origins in the plains that border the buttresses of the Colombian Andes. After a course of about 330 kilometers in Colombian territory, the Uaupés advances in the

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133 direction SE and S as a demarcator of /10/ frontiers between Brazil and Colombia, as far as Iauareté-cachoeira (2),

2. In Amazonia, places in which the course of the water exhibits some slope with eddies, rapids, and true cascades or waterfalls, the latter, by the way, being rare, are called cachoeiras. Since native denominations are involved, the names come in a construction similar to the Saxonic genitive or possessive, which is very much in the spirit of the Tukano language and of the native languages of the region in general. For this reason one says: Iauareté-cachoeira, Parí-cachoeira, Taracuá-ponta, etc., instead of cachoeira de Iauareté /cachoeira of Iauareté/ or de Parí, ponta /point/ de taracuá, etc., according to the character of the Portuguese language.

where, on the right bank, the tributary of the Papurí River occurs. Then, taking the direction east, it runs completely inside Brazil until it drains into the Rio Negro, after having received, again from the right, the Tiquié River, a little below the povoado /populated place/ of Taracuá-ponta. Inside Brazilian territory it advances 520 kilometers (thus having a total course of 850 kilometers) and exhibits a maximum width of 3 kilometers and a minimum of approximately 200 meters.

• 103 133 /11/ The Papurí (or Capurí, as it was also formerly called) results from the union of two tributaries in Colombian territory, a little above "Melo Franco," the Áua and the Paca. Nearly the totality of its course, however, about 280 kilometers, delimits the frontier between Brazil and Colombia. The natives call it "Oxkó ñyĩsé dyá," that is, river of black water; indeed, its waters are darker than those of the Uaupés. It runs into the Uaupés at Iaureté-cachoeira, with a width of 250 meters.

/11 cont./

103 133 Although it presents an average declivity of 0.32 m. per kilometer, it possesses a subsoil of granite, with innumerable levelings and cachoeiras (3)

[114] 3. The Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras /Brazilian Commission of Frontiers/, under the direction of Marechal /Marshal/ Boanerges Lopes de Souza, who did the surveying of this river, recorded 39 cachoeiras. Moreover, it has some islets and islands, and therefore its width reaches 500 meters.

[505] which endanger navigation. Or, rather, it is only passable with small canoes and montarias (4),

[501] 4. "Montarias" are the canoes that have been enlarged by one or more longitudinal planks fitted to their sides.

which sometimes advance through the rushing rapids by arm or pulled by tow ropes, or are even transported across the rocks or bordering forest by way of the "varadoiros" (5).

5. "Varadoiros" are the passages [redacted]p in the forest, or along the rivers in the stretches that are not navigable; or as shortcuts between two points, in order to avoid the long windings of the rivers.

The Tiquié is the other tributary, and more important than the Papurí. It results from two igarapés, or streams: the Uaracú-pirera (in Nheengatú it means "skin of aracú /a fish/"), which takes the name of Tiquié, a name of unknown origin and meaning (also like Caiarí and Papurí), after it receives the Macucú. Those of Tukano language name the Tiquié "Kõsá," the meaning of which, however, they do not know. Extremely sinuous, it measures about 450 kilometers in course, almost all

/11 cont./

103 133 of it in Brazilian territory. It would be about half a kilometer in width at the mouth, but it narrows sensibly to a few hundred meters in a great part of its course. At Tucano-cachoeira its width is about 50 meters, and this is maintained up to Parí-cachoeira (up to where the launches of small draft reach) and, narrowing even more, presents an average width of 15 to 20 meters up to the border.

It runs almost parallel to the Papurí, but its appearance is very different. The sandy and deep bed allows it a calm course, the waters therefore seeming darker than they are in reality (6),

6. Its major tributary, the river Castanho, of milky color, sensibly lightens the waters of the Tiquié.

shadowed besides by the dense forest bordering them. It has /12/ few cachoeiras, among them the one called "Carurú," above Parí-cachoeira, certainly one of the most beautiful cataracts of the State of Amazonas.

The Uaupés and its two tributaries receive the contribution of innumerable, though small, watercourses, which in the regional terminology are called igarapés.

The basin that we studied covers the lands watered by the rivers Uaupés and its two tributaries, the Papurí and the Tiquié. It is thus located in the equatorial zone (7).

7. In the 486 windings or sinuosities that the Tiquié presents in its course from the mouth up to Parí-cachoeira, it crosses the equatorial line 18 times.

132 Nevertheless the minimum daily temperature fluctuates between 19° and 22°, and the maximum 24° and 32°, rarely up to 36°, 133 thanks to frequent precipitation. It presents lands not subject to floods, or "terra-firme," according to the regional nomenclature, and large areas inundated, at least during some months 000 of the year. The vegetation, therefore, is the high and dense

/15 cont./

175 In the brief "Relação do descobrimento do Rio Amazonas, hoje S. Francisco de Quito /Account of the discovery of the Amazon River, today S. Francisco de Quito/," by Padre Alonso de Rojas, one only reads, in § 6: "At the north side there is a very large river with a league and a half at the mouth and waters so black that they are distinguished from the others, an effect that gave the name to the river, it being called 'Negro.'"

"The first steersman, of whom we shall speak later, having navigated two or three days along this Rio Negro, said that, according to the information that he could obtain from some Indians, this river rises in some mountain ranges neighboring the Novo Reino de Granada and in its origin it is divided into two branches: one of them, with the name of Rio Negro, empties, after a long course, into the Amazon; the other comes to empty into the sea of the North, in view of the island Trindade, and they think that this river might be the famous Orinoco" ("Descobrimentos," 95).

• [103] /16/ Padre Cristobal de Acuña, who accompanied Pedro de Teixeira on his return from Quito to Belém, gives in his "Novo descobrimento do grande Rio das Amazonas /New discovery of the great Amazon River/" more abundant information concerning the Rio Negro, or Curiguacurú, as "the natives who inhabit it" called it, or Uruna, "which means black water," by the "Tupinambás" in their language. "Caniquaris, Aguayras, Yacuncarais, Cahuayapitis, Manacarús, Yanmas, Guanamás, Carapanaris, Guarianacaguas, Acerabarís, Carupatabas and Guaranaquazama /the quotation marks that perhaps belong here are missing in the original source/ are the nations "who live along the waters of the Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos," 251).

175 After the travels of Pedro de Teixeira, the scouting for the capture of the Indian started. These enslaving bands were called 648 "tropas de resgate" /ransom troops/. One of the first ones was that headed by Pedro da Costa Favela, of ominous memory (1).

1. "The history of the province abounds in facts of the harshest cruelty. On the river Urubú, to cite one of them, in 1665, an expedition commanded by

4: Silva--23 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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With the apostolic works of the Carmelite Frei José dos Santos Inocentes on the upper Rio Negro and tributaries for more than 20 years, counting from 1832, the evangelization of the natives acquired new vigor.

The Province of Amazonas having been created on September 5, 1850, its first Governador, João Batista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, in the same year that he came into office, 1852, appointed the Capuchin Frei Gregorio José Maria de Bene "Vigário encomendado das freguezias e povoações do alto Rio Negro e Missionário dos rios Uaupés e Içana" /Removable vicar of the parishes and towns of the upper Rio Negro and Missionary of the rivers Uaupés and Içana/, since Frei José dos Santos Inocentes was forced by illness to go down to Manaus. The activity of Frei Gregorio was great, and in little more than two years he managed to establish relations with 25 tribes (who appear in his list), trying to put them in aldeias, /19/ re-establishing many povoados, and bringing many individuals among them to Christianity. [103] The following towns are mentioned as those for which, in 1854, he asked for a change of name, to wit: on the Uaupés: Querari, Macaquinha, Micura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Coração de Jesus), Carurú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Fidelis martir), Mutum (aldeia of S. Cruz), Aracapuri (aldeia of S. João Batista), Jutica, Pacú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Sebastião), aldeia of Cubeo (aldeia of N. Senhora das Dores), Umarí, Iauareté (aldeia of S. Ana), Jabutí-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Paulo Apóstolo), Juquira (aldeia of S. Domingos), Naná-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Antônio de Lisboa), S. Jerônimo (aldeia of Conceição de N. Senhora), S. Joaquim, Trovão, Pitúna-rapecuma, Inuitera, Cunurí, Coró-Coró, Iura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Francisco das Chagas), Taracuá (S. Francisco das Chagas), Ambaíua, Ivitera-rapecuma. On the Tiquié: Tucano (or S. Isabel), Uíra-poço (or Nazaré), Maracajá (or S. José), Turí-igarapé (or S. Pedro). On the Papurí: S. Luzia dos Tucanos, S. Gregório Magno dos Pirá-tapuya. (Archivo do Amazonas, Year I, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 34, and Year II, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 7.)

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3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

• 103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between 171 the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of the same lip. On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well 301 polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed [554] at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

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*101 Will there perhaps come under the denomination of "Uaupés" one tribe in /30/ particular? Yes. In fact, with the date of November 18, 1820, there is a "Carta Patente" from the Governador of the Capitania, Manoel Joaquim do Paço, establishing the Excellent Indian Raymundo José in the office of "Principal" of the Indians of the "Naçã̃o Uaupés" /Uaupés Nation/ of the locality of S. Jerônimo (8).

8. Around the end of the sixteenth century, according to what Stradelli thinks (cf. Note 1, I), lived a great Taryana Tuxauã by name of Buopé, who established his tribe on the river Ucaiarí. With successful military exploits he faced the other tribes, especially the Wanana, and became famous. Supposing the existence of the Tuxáua Buopé, one might grant that his name could have been linked to the river and to his own tribe, which is the Taryana. It is difficult, however, to explain / the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ how Uaupé came to be the specific denomination of the Tukano tribe, rival of the Taryana tribe to which Buopé belonged.

• [103] Unless the same name for the Taryana Tuxáua and for the river is a mere coincidence. Or perhaps the latter was already named Uaupés long before the warlike deeds of the Taryana chief Buopé, and the closeness of the names is due to confusion or distortion. The river, yes, is the one that lent the name to the nations along its banks, and in particular to a more numerous and dominant tribe, that of the Daxseá or Tukano. It is proper to note that it is only in these last years that the name Uaupés is becoming general for the river. Up to about 20 years ago the river was popularly known as Caiarí.

/32 cont./

*101 [103]

We think that the name of the locality Coané (S. Joaquim do Coané) derives precisely from the tribe that resided there at the time of the discovery. Coané would only be a different pronunciation of the name Coianá, as we have heard it pronounced, or Cueuana.

5) MAMANGÁ. This tribe does not appear in the report of Frei Gregório, although it is mentioned in Vol. I of the Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas as existing on the river Tiquié. We have not heard any tribe of the rivers Uaupés, Papuri, and Tiquié mentioned under the name of Mamangá. Accepting the information of these sources of the eighteenth century as correct, however, it might very well be that one is dealing with a group that later emigrated or even became extinct.

Nevertheless, we are not inclined to accept the hypotheses of extinction or migration; we judge it more plausible that it is only a matter of a division of some Uaupés tribe. Mamengaba, mamangá, or mangangá is the name of the bees of the genus Bombas. Koch Grünberg points out (Z.I. 283) at the mouth of the Dyí-igarapé, tributary of the Uaupés, a Kubewãna horde with the name of Utí-waíwa or "Wasp-Indians." It is possible that one is dealing with the Utsí-áwekõ, the tenth subdivision of the Kubewãna, according to the list of Josefa (cf. IV; 2p /p. 153/).

We also know a Tukano subdivision named Yaí-uxtyá (cf. IV -- 2a /p. 127/), which is the name of a large wasp, and residing precisely on the Tiquié, in the povoados of Caruru and S. Tomé (10).

10. Perhaps Utí-waíwa is a simple morphological alteration of Yaí-uxtyá, by an inversion of the terms (Uxtyá-yaí), with loss of the aspiration would give Utí-yai, and from that later Utí-uaíua or Utí-waíwa in the representation of International Phonetics.

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On the Apapóris (13)

*101 [131]

13. It must be a mistake by Wallace; one is not dealing with the Apapóris (tributary of the Japurá), but with the Papurí River (tributary of the Uaupés), where the Tukano, Pirá-tapúya, and Desāna tribes actually have their main nuclei.

River: 19. Tucano; 20. Uacará (garça); 21. Pirá (fish); 22. Deçana.

On the Querirí (Cuiarí or Iquiarí) (14)

• [103]

14. Bento Aranha (in the Archivo do Amazonas, Year II, No. 5, p. 2), in answer to a letter from Koch Grünberg, records Iquiarí as another name of the river Içana: "in the same manner as they call Iquiarí the river Içana or Issana. /The final quotation marks are missing./

At present the river Içana is not known under any other denomination. And no river in the region is known under the name of Iquiarí. Under that of Quiarí, yes, there exists a tributary of the left bank of the Aiarí, which, in turn, is a tributary of the right bank of the Içana. Likewise there is no river under the denomination of Querirí in the region. Perhaps the spelling was Querarí, which is a tributary of the left bank of the Uaupés, on the Colombian border. Caduiari is one of the tributaries of the Querarí; and Cuiarí, one of the tributaries of the left of the Içana (cf. above II-3, "Ethnographic Information," on Yaquiri and Quiquiari /see p. 27 /).

4: Silva--81 M-4, 5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Chapter III

Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nãxkãro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

178 361 592 [797] Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there were only malocas (1),

1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

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1. Malocas and Povoados of the Uaupés River (dyá Poxsá, river of the Makú?)

Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
S. Joaquim	?		Koená ou Kukwana /ousor/
Itapinima	õxtã oharitirí-pa	Painted stone	Desana
Trovão	büxpó-pá	Thunder stone	Desana
Pituna	Naïkoro	Place where night falls	Desana
Cunurí	waxpö-ñõá	Point of the cunurí /fruit/ (2)	Desana
Corõ-Coró	koxtó-duri ou koxtóa	Rocks of the coró-coró /bird/ (3)	Desana
Iú-rapecuma	Pöxtá-ñõá	Point of the thorn	Tukano
Pacú-capuamo	unú-nãxkãrõ	Island of the pacú /fish/	Desana
Caruatana (4)	buxpú-sero	(Piece of) sarabatana	Tukano
Macú-capuamo	Poxsá-nãxkãrõ	Island of the Makú	Tukano
Jacaré-ponta	õxsó-ñõá	Point of the alligator	Pirá-tapuya
Açaí-paraná	mix'pï-yuxtí	Paraná /river branch/ of the assaí	Pirá-tapuya
Arára-ponta	mahã-ñõá	Point of the arara	Tukano
Matapí	büxköá-wö-kó	Water of the matapí /fish trap/	Tukano
Naná-rapecuma	sẽ'rá-ñõá	Point of the pineapple	Tukano
Tauá	ewö-yá	Stream of the ocher	Tukano
Tocandira	pextá-ñõá	Point of the tocandira /ant/	(sem moradores) (5)
Taracuá-ponta	me're-oã"rá-ñõá	Point of the taracuá (ant)	Tukano, Desana, Pirá-tapuya
Darí-darí	l'ã-büxkõrá-ñõá	Point of the darí-darí (insect)	Miriti-tapuya
Pirá-mirim	sẽ'ã-ya	Stream of the Piabinha /fish/	Pirá-tapuya

/See p. 89 for footnotes 2-5./

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Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
Ponta-fria	yõxsõári-ñõá	Cold point	Tukano (Pirá-tapuya) (6)
Cabeçudo-ponta	u-ñõá	Point of the cabeçudo /fish/	Pirá-tapuya
Sussuáka	ñamá-saaró	Deer horn	(sem moradores)
Paxiúba-igarapé	waxtá (paxka)-ya	Stream of the paxiuba (large)	Pirá-tapuya, Makú
Ipanoré	tõpa-duri	"Sieve" "rocks"	Taryana
Urubucuara	yõxká-pûrí-pextá	Port of the tucum	Kumãdene
Pinú-pinú	dyá-utĩkaro-ñõá	Point of the sucuruju	Taryana
Cigarro	uxtĩka-pûrí	Cigarette leaf	Taryana
Mariuá	marĩwa-dõxpõrí	Branches of mariuá	Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Desana
Buzina	uxpítu-ñõá	Point of the trumpet	Taryana
S. José	wírõ-ñõá	Point of the wind	Arapasu
Chibarú	yebári	Chibarú (wood)	Arapasu
Juruparí-ponta	wãx'tĩ-ñõá	Point of WãxtĨ	Arapasu
Baía	wi"i-turiró	Loft	Arapasu
Ponta do Mucuim	u'mũ-suá-ñõá	Point of the mucuins	(sem moradores)
Loiro	kuma-kõ-ñõá	Point of the blond /loiro/ (wood)	Arapasu
Paraná-jucá	Dyá-Poxsá-yõhõró	Strait of the river of the Makú	Arapasu, Tukano
Juquira	mõá-ñõá	Point of the salt	Tukano
Ananaz	sé'ra-pá	Stone of the pineapple	Pirá-tapuya
Aracú-ponta	bo'téa-pextá	Port of the aracú /fish/	Pirá-tapuya
Cangatara	mahã-poarí-ñõá	Point of the arara feathers	(sem moradores)
Jacitara	waú-tu dixtara	Lake of the jacitara (palm)	Pirá-tapuya
Ararí-pirá	bixpári-pweá	Cachoeira of the ararí-pirá	Taryana
Cunurí	waxpõ-ñõá	Point of the cunurí (fruit)	(sem moradores)
Juí	omã-ya-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the frog	Pirá-tapuya
Isuareté	Yaía-pweá	Cachoeira of the onça	Taryana
Castanho-capuámo	Castanho-nãxkãrõ	Island of the Castanho	Taryana
Micura	oá-pweá	Cachoeira of the gambá /opossum/	Taryana
Miriti	noé-ya-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the buriti	Taryana

/See p. 89 for footnote 6./

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Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
Umarí	wamã-pweá	Cachoeira of the umarí (fruit)	Tukano
Piranha	bõõ-ñõá	Point of the piranha	Taryana
Mira-pirêra	kaxsêri-ñõá	Point of the husks	Tukano
Jabutí	úhuri-pweá	Cachoeira of the jabutí /turtle/	Taryana
Iuquira-ponta	mõã-ñõá	Point of the salt	Taryana
Ira-capuamo	mɯmi-nÃxkÃrõ	Island of the honey	Taryana
Bacaba	yu'mũ-pweá	Cachoeira of the bacaba	Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Wanana
Arumã	wõhõ-nÃxkÃrõ	Island of the arumã /plant/	Taryana
Cachoeira do machado	komé-pweá	Cachoeira of the ax	Taryana
——— (7)	Poxsá-boári-ma	River to make makú rotten	Taryana
Periquito	kaí-pweá	Cachoeira of the parakeet	Taryana, Kumãdene
Japú-ponta	umũ-ñõá	Point of the japú /bird/	Wanana
Arara	mahã-pweá	Cachoeira of the arara	Wanana
Yandú	bũxpõ-Ã'rã	Chain (mountain) of the spider	Wanana
Carurú	mõã-pweá	Cachoeira of the carurú (salty plant)	Wanana
Matapí	bũxkõã-wõ-pé	Orifice of the matapí	Wanana
Jacaré	õxsó-pweá	Cachoeira of the alligator	Wanana
Yutica	yaxpí-pweá	Cachoeira of the batata	Wanana
Tiririca	wí'sõ-pá	Stone of the tiririca /plant/	Wanana
Taína (8)	nihĩ-pá	Stone of the child	Wanana
Taracuá	mẽ'rẽ-oã'rã-ñõá	Point of the taracuá	Wanana
Yawareté-ponta	yaía-buxpuró-ñõá	Point from where the onça jumps	Wanana
Pacú-cachoeira	uhú-pweá	Cachoeira of the pacú	Wanana
Camarinhõ-igarapé	tupí-ya ou tupí-ma	Stream of the water lizard	Kubewana
Querari	soã-yá-pitó	Mouth of the red river	Kubewana

/See p. 89 for footnotes 7 and 8./

2. Malocas and Povoados of the Tiquié (Kõsá)

Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
Campina	waré-yuró	Open, field, plain	Tukano
Cururú-lago	táro-â'râ	Mountain chain of the toad	Tukano
Coró-coró	koxtó-be'tó	bay of the coró-coró	Tukano
Matapí	kaxsá-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the matapí	Tukano, Desana
Barreira	mi'mí-töröá	Barrier of the hummingbird	Tukano
.....	Oá-kó	Water of the gambá /opossum/	Miriti-tapuya
Ponta do veado	ñamá-ñõá	Point of the deer	Miriti, Tukano, Tuyuka
Serrinha	poári-â'râ	Mountain chain of the hairs	Tukano, Desana
.....	pirõ-rá	Lake of the snake	Desana, Tukano
Fátima	yai-wa'í	House of the onça	Tuyuka
Sant'Ana	bu'sá-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the paina /plant/	Tukano, Desana
Tucano-cachoeira	daxsé-pweá	Cachoeira of the toucan	Tukano
.....	waxpõ-ñõá	Point of the cunurí	Tukano
.....	ñyi-yá-pitó	Mouth of the black stream	Miriti-tapuya
Iraití	oxpé-durí	Rocks of the breu /resinous tree/	Miriti-tapuya
Nazaré	simeõ-pũri-rá	Lake of the leaves of the uacú	Miriti-tapuya
Piraíba-poço	mõõ-tuxkũrõ	Well of the piraíba /fish/	Miriti-tapuya
S. Pedro (bôca da estrada)	sẽ'ã paxkãrá dixtára	Lake of the piramirins	Tukano
Papagaio	wexkó-wi'í	House of the parrot	(sem moradores)
Uira-poço	daxsú-ra	Lake of the azulão /bird/	(sem moradores)
.....	dixtíro-pá	Stone of the uira-paje (bird)	Tukano, Desana
Barreira alta	yuyú-thá	Place of the yũyú /bird/ (cf. VII, 3, a)	Tukano, Desana
Bôca do Cstanho	pirõ-perí	Holes of the snake	Desana
S. Luiz	a'râ-ra	Lake of the cane	Desana
Floresta	tho'á-bwa	heaped up yũa-pixuna (fruit)	Desana
S. José	maxkã	"the town, the povoado"	Tukano
S. Miguel	míxpí-tha	grove of assai	Tukano, Desana
S. Luzia	waró-sererá	Swim of the old ones (9)	Tukano

/bôca da estrada, "beginning of the road"; see p. 89 for footnote 9./

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Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
Estelo	boxtári-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the supports	(sem moradores)
S. Francisco	õxtã-tĩ-thá	Place that has stone	Tukano
Maracajá (povoado)	tõõ-ỹ'ã-ñõá	Point of the thought	Tukano
Maracajá (estirão)	yai-kaheró-kusá	Long way of the maracajá (feline)	Tukano
S. Antônio	Bayá-pé	Cavern of the bayá (10)	Tukano, Desana
S. João	ñamá-ãhõãrĩ-bwá	Trail of the cobra-grande /great-snake/ (11)	Desana
Santa Cruz	kurúxa-nũ'kũrõ ou	Place where the cross is standing	Tukano
	õ'mõãri-bwa	High mountain	
Bela vista	nũxkũparo-tha	Beach	Tukano
.....	suxpú-tõrõ	Ramp of the bubo	Tukano
.....	pẽru-tõ	Pot of caxirí (drink)	(Tukano)
.....	ñyĩrã-bwá	Mountain of the maruim /mosquito/	Tukano
.....	nimá-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the poison	(sem moradores)
Parí-cachoeira	sirí-pá	Stone of the leap (of the fish)	Tukano
.....	thũ-pá	Stone of ?	Tukano
S. Domingos (Cabari)	ã'rẽ-mi'rĩ-pá	Stone of the nightingale (ten-ten)	Tukano, Tuyuka
Caburi	kõ'rẽ-kaburí-ñõá	Point of the reverberation of the woodpecker	Tukano, Tuyuka
S. Paulo	ki-kaxsẽri-ñõá	Point of the husk of the mandioca	Tukano
Carurú-cachoeira	mõ-pweá	Cachoeira of the carurú /plant/ (12)	Tukano, Tuyuka
.....	ñamá-ãhõãrĩ-bwá	Mountain to bum deer	Tuyuka
.....	wái-maxsã-duhiró	Place where the fish-people sit	Tuyuka
S. Pedro	pixkõrõ-bwá	Mountain of the caterpillar (tapurú)	Tuyuka
.....	doé-ra	Lake of the tarafra /fish/	Oá-maxsã (gambá-tapuya)
.....	õxtã-dõxká	Piece of stone	(sem moradores)

/estirão, "long way, straight stretch of a river"; see p. 90 for footnotes 10-12./

4: Silva--86 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
.....	pũrĩ-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the leaf	Tuyuka
.....	nɯ̃xkɯ̃rõ	Island	Tuyuka
.....	kaí-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the mass of the umarí	Tuyuka
Sarapó	ixkí-seri-yá	Stream of the husk of the inaja	Tuyuka

3. Malocas and Povoados of the Papurí (oxkó nyĩsé-dyá, river of black water).

Foz do Papurí	oxkó-ñyĩsé-pitó	Mouth of the river of black water	Taryana
Uaracapá de baixo	wãrõ-phĩ	Pit iron	Taryana
.....	waú-ñõá	Point of the monkey uaú	Taryana
Paraná do tatú	pamõ-yuxtí	Paraná of the armadillo	Taryana
Japurá	batí-bwí	Above the japurá	Taryana
Micura-ponta	oá-ñõá	Point of the gambá	Pirá-tapuya
.....	bapá-ñõá	Point of the sabiá /bird/	Taryana
Uaracapá	toóka-pá	Stone of the enclosure (13)	Taryana
Ituim-ponta	bũxkõá-será-ñõá	Point of the ituim	Pirá-tapuya
Ucapinima	kikaxasêri-ñõá	Point of the husks of the mandioca	Pirá-tapuya
Serrinha	ã'rã-ñõá	Point of the mountain chain	Tukano
Parí-ponta	imĩ-sa-pá	Stone of the parí /fish enclosure/	Tukano
S. Luzia	sẽ'pé-ñõá	Point of the Cobra-grande (14)	Tukano
Japim	yõx'sõ-ñõá	Point of the japim /bird/	Pirá-tapuya
Caitetú	dyá-burú-ñõá	Point of the stream of the burú (15)	Pirá-tapuya
Muiritinga	buxtí-o	Muiritingal	Pirá-tapuya
.....	sã'ã-pweá	Cachoeira of the electric eel	Pirá-tapuya
Teresita	dyá-yó-pweá	Cachoeira of the lontra /Mustelidae/	Pirá-tapuya, Desana

/baixo, "lower"; see p. 90 for footnotes 13-15./

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Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
Pirá-mirĩm	sõ'ã-pweá	Cachoeira of the piabinha	Pirá-tapuya
S. Gabriel	natã-pweá	Cachoeira of the natã (toad)	Pirá-tapuya
Macú-paraná	poxsá-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the Macú	Pirá-tapuya, Desana
Tucunaré (e Olinda)	bwú-pweá	Cachoeira of the tucunaré /fish/	Pirá-tapuya
Taracuá	mẽ'rẽ-oã'rã-nõã	Point of the taracuá	Pirá-tapuya
S. Paulo	ahã-perí	Holes of the inambú /tinamou/	Pirá-tapuya
Andorinha	Sirípi-tuxkũrõ	Well of the swallow	(sem moradores)
Jandiá	Pawá-dõxká	Piece of jandiá	Pirá-tapuya
Beijú-cachoeira	ahũ-a-pweá	Cachoeira of the beijú	(sem moradores)
Pato	dyá-kaxtá-pá	Stone of the water duck	Tukano
Urucum	buxsíka-yá	Stream of the urucum (16)	Desana
Piracuara	wai-perí-pweá	Cachoeira of the orifices of the fish (17)	Tukano, Desana, Makú
Montfort	buxtwá-pweá	Cachoeira of the cupim /ant/	Tukano, Desana
Cutú-cutú	dyá-bũxkoá-yá	Stream of the cutú-cutú /fish/	Desana
Japú-capuamo	umũ-pweá	Cachoeira of the japú	Desana, Tukano
Bôca do abio	kã'rẽ-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the abio /plant/	Tukano
Iúa-pixuna	tho'á-pweá	Cachoeira of the yúa-pixuna	Tukano
Anchieta	muhĩ-pũ-pweá	Cachoeira of the moon	Tukano, Desana
.....	ñaxkã-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream ñaxkã (18)	Desana
Jandiá	Pawá-pweá	Cachoeira of the jandiá	Tukano, Desana, Makú
Nova vida	poreró-pextá	Port of the grasshopper	Tukano
S. Miguel	Boxsó-pextá	Port of the cavy	Tukano, Tuyuka
Melo Franco	wexkõ-sero	Hide of anta (?)	Tukano, Desaná, Karapaná

/e, "and"; see p. 90 for footnotes 16-18./

/81 cont./

*101 that is, "people of the land." Impressed later by the fact that they ate a great deal and frequently, they compared them with the tucanos /toucans/.

This is probably a later explanation invented by the native imagination. It is to be noted, however, that those of this tribe have always called themselves Daxseá, and never Yepá-maxsã. According to the old Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, Yepá-maxsã is the nickname of the Baré, although he does not know what that denomination means. In reality, Yebá-maxsã (in Tukano, Yepá-maxsã) is the name of a tribe of the Tukano group, as we shall see later (IV -- 2, t).

/82/ The designation "Tukano" clearly obeys the structure of the primitive's mentality, naming himself after an animal or plant. For now we do not want to go into the question of Totemism, which we hope to deal with more fully in another study. We are now permitted only to infer for them a habitat where the Tucano /toucan/ bird (ramphastus) might live, such as in the Amazonian plain of Colombia.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- More or less numerous groups of Tukano are found from Yu-Rapecuma (almost on the mouth of the Uaupés) up to Umarí (middle Uaupés), on the Tiquié from the mouth up to Carurú-cachoeira, and on the Papurí from Serrinha up to the headwaters. Small groups have also established themselves on the Rio Negro between S. Gabriel and Santa Isabel. The preceding charts (II -- 6, a, b) show the principal places where we find them today. The principal route of penetration into Brazil, it seems to us, was the river Papurí, from where they passed to the Uaupés and Tiquié (20).

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20. The old tuxáua José of Parí-cachoeira, about thirty years ago, showed Pe. João Marchesi an area of underbrush on the Tiquié, reporting that the first maloca of his ancestors was there when they came from the Pakurí. The indigenous denomination of the locality of S. Luzia of the Tiquié, buõrá-bathá, swim of the old ones (cf. Note 9, III), is confirmation of the Tukano tradition concerning their origin and migration.

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*101 In the vicinity of the cachoeira of Iauareté there is a place called Manao. Might this name for the Bará tribe have come from their former domicile in this locality; or vice versa (29)?

[103] [648]

29. We heard it told that, when the Comissão Militar Demarcadora da Fronteira /Military Commission to Demarcate the Frontier/ was in Iauareté (in 1932), a group of natives presented themselves, asking for passage to the capital of the State, Manaus. The Comissão, however, did not grant this to them, and, after staying a few days in the vicinity of Iauareté, they returned to their povoados. And that, because of such an episode, the place where the natives pitched camp became known as Manao. Nevertheless, Pe. Limpens assured us that this locality has always been called Manao. And, it must be noted, Pe. Limpens has resided in the region since 1916.

[144] We know little about the ancient Manao. It appears that they had more regular and pleasant physiognomic features. The present Bará are less corpulent than the Tukano, and physiognomically more pleasant as well, /88/ fairer, with not very prominent malar and less marked Mongoloid features (30).

30. In part this agrees with the information of Koch Grünberg, who describes them to us: "slender in body, well-proportioned, smaller than the Tuyuka, finer countenance, black eyes, less receding forehead, nose high and slightly convex, large mouth, thick lips." According to what the Indians say, Koch would have been the first white man seen by them, and the one who went up to the headwaters of the Tiquié.

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/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

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36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

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/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ỹa, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

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*[192]

In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxkésã-i'ãsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

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They likewise believe that the taking of a bath, be it men or women, in the pothole of Tõpa-duri, that is, of the cachoeira of Urubucuara, where the tribes came out (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"), would guarantee them an early marriage.

It does not seem, then, that these caves, rocks, igarapés, interiors of the forest should be regarded as sacred spots of the cult. Rather, on the contrary, they would be "tabooed" places and objects. Nor would the fruits and rocks that are thrown be a form of cult, that called litobolia. Rather they seem to us to be manifestations of magic and tabooism.

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An old Missionary stated that some Indians, while going by those rocks that bear crude figures (37)

37. These are the petroglyphic signs or rupestrian inscriptions common on the rivers of Amazonas, especially the Rio Negro and its tributaries. A diligent study of these inscriptions was done by B. A. da Silva Ramos, under the title "Inscrições e Tradições da América Pré-histórica /Inscriptions and Traditions of Prehistoric America/," -- Imprensa Oficial, Rio de Janeiro, 1930. We do not find engraved anthropomorphic representations. Koch G. 50 years ago saw sculptures of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic ones, among the Kubewana and Wanana (cf. Note 49, VII-3, b (8) /see Note 50, VII-3, b (2)/). We discovered only one, as human heads on the supports of a trocano /signal drum/. They did not look like idols, however, but only decorations and were of recent fabrication (1947).

of animals or of strange beings, with long and skeletal arms and

4: Silva--540 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/footnote 70 cont./ of Wãx-tĩ or Jurupari with the demon dates back to the evangelization of the coastal tribes. For example, the Hollander Gaspar Barleus or Van Baerle (1647), describing the journey of Elias Harchman, apropos of a mountain of Copaóba, states: "nomen monti erat polyssyllabum et terríbile Iurupari bakau, id est, hic respéxit diábolus" (the name of the mountain was strange and terrible, "Iurupari bakau," that is, the demon looked here). Barbosa Rodrigues, "Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/," p. 94. Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, 1882. As for the identification of Wãx-tĩ with Jurupari, see above, Note 8, VII-4, c) /see note 7 in VII-4, c), and note 8 in VII-4, d)/.

*[192] The term that the catechesis uses to designate God, Wá:kõ, which means "the one who is gone," seems to confirm it. It thus makes one think of Jesus Christ who went up to heaven (71).

71. We have just finished reading (May of 1956) in the Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, Vol. III, year of 1954, an article by Marcos Fulop, under the title: "Aspectos de la cultura tukana. Cosmogonia /Aspects of Tucano culture. Cosmogony/." This article seems to confirm the above opinion, which we had already voiced in 1948. After describing the creative activity and that of social organization exercised by Yepá Huake (this is the way the name of the personage Wá:kõ is written), according to the account of the pajé Marcos Sierra from the povoado Guadalajara, on the river Paca, in

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823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near [784] Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

823 There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and *[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

• [103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ï'á-fïõá (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhí-pũ õxtã (rock of the sun or of [782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

754 There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick; it is the yuxkõ dohó-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

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/472 cont./

/footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui prior est tempore potior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a [192] certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say.

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/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly: we might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

[103] One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

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The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals are hunted along the river banks.

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The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahúkiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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recover it. Away from home, a canoe is moored completely out of the water.

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COMMUNITIES ON THE CUDUIARÍ (upstream from mouth)

PLACE NAME	SIB	PLACE NAME	SIB
1. Kakómba	*Hehénewa*	16. Xiábewa	*Pedíkwa*
2. Kúridi kenámi	*Hehénewa*	17. Kuraría	*Kendnikauwũ*
3. Tcipakoríba*	*Hehénewa*	18. Abúhakũ	*Kendnikauwũ*
4. Okóhambũ	*Bahúkiwa*	19. Xwévebo	*Hürüwd*
5. Vekókũ	*Bahúkiwa*	20. Bedébo	*Hürüwd*
6. Ewáhubo	*Bahúkũdjauwũ*	21. Kobéhowa	*Pyendo-Hehénewa*
7. Hurédo	*Bahúkũdjauwũ*	22. Avyákoríba	*Hürüwd*
8. Nyáparataínto	*Bahúkũdjauwũ*	23. Kwitóro	*Wadjú-Hürüwd*
9. *Yavíbi	*Bahúkũdjauwũ*	24. Bedébũ	*Hürüwd*
10. Kiráda	*Bahúkiwa*	25. Toróhambũ	*Hürüwd*
11. Úbo	*Pedíkwa*	26. Hokóbũ	*Kendnikauwũ*
12. Mákavekũ	*Bahúkiwa*	27. Horáhararía	*Hürüwd*
13. Makatóta	*Bahúkiwa*	28. Hudjíbũ	*Bahúkiwa*
14. Toídibũ	*Pedíkwa*	29. Mátakwe	*Pyendo-Hehénewa*
15. Monékenpaunwa	*Pedíkwa*		

* A small *Kordwa* settlement is at *Urupera* between 3 and 4. It is, however, only a fraction of a Querarí River sib and not a full community.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges.

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehéneua* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiarí.

PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations.

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo.